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PRACTICAL PAN-AMERICANISM

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"PAN-AMERICA" and "Pan-Americanism" are to-day terms of such vast and potential significance in world affairs that every one should be interested in their practical application and interpretation. Affecting vitally the progress and prosperity of every American republic and, therefore, the welfare of every citizen thereof, they are not to be dismissed as mere concepts of the moment. Although long known in the phrase-book of international relations, they have an extraordinary present-day meaning which, based upon both fact and fancy, appeals alike to the reason and the imagination. Not only do they concern directly all the nations and peoples of North and South America, but indirectly many of the nations and peoples of Europe and even Asia.

The present and future position, influence, and very existence of each of the twenty-one American republics are and will be so related to the wise use of the power of Pan-America, and the just application of the principle of Pan-Americanism, that all patriotic and thinking Americans from Canada to Chile should study thoughtfully what Pan-America and Pan-Americanism mean. The remarkable fact, moreover, that the European war is possibly doing more than any other influence in history, since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, to develop and emphasize Pan-American solidarity and community of interest and purpose, makes it inevitable that European statesmen must recognize as never before this mighty force in the present and future of world progress.

When the Secretary of State of the United States, acting under the advice of the President, recently invited the six ranking diplomatic representatives of Latin-America: the

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Ambassadors of Brazil, Chile and Argentina, and the Ministers of Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala, to confer with him regarding the Mexican situation, the United States Government engaged in practical Pan-Americanism. It took a step forward, which not only attracted the attention of all the world and won the approval of all America—judging from the almost unanimously favorable comment of the Latin-American and United States press—but showed conclusively to the world that purely Pan-American problems ought to be settled by the concert of American nations. Such action, however, was in no way antagonistic to European nations or those outside of the Pan-American Union. It was taken just as much for the benefit of their legitimate interests and their peoples who reside or do business in American countries, as for the corresponding interests and peoples of the Americas. In truth, Pan-Americanism, in its correct interpretation, is in no sense anti-European or anti-Asiatic in its policies, purposes and propaganda, but an honest expression of the fundamental right of nations having similar geographical, historical, political and commercial interests and inspirations to act together for their common good and protection. Pan-Americanism can be defined in its simplest form as the common or concerted action or attitude of the twenty-one American republics for the welfare of one or more or all of them without infringement of their sovereignty or integrity.

It may be said that by this invitation the United States demonstrated that, while in its sincere efforts to advance practical Pan-Americanism it desires all the nations of Pan-America to share in the blessings of their individual and collective peace and prosperity, it holds the belief that they should also share in bearing the burden of troubled conditions in any one of them which may react unfavorably upon all. By it the United States tangibly recognized the growing influence and importance of the other American republics and their part and responsibility in the Pan-American family, which, if neglected or unrecognized by the United States, might suggest an attempt at domination or self-established superiority on its part that would perhaps promote distrust where confidence is necessary, and might seem to deny the equality of interest and responsibility of the other republics which their individual sovereignty inherently gives them. This action should prove to Mexico and to all

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Latin-America that the United States Government and people have no sinister designs and plans against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mexico or the other American republics, but are actuated by the highest humanitarian and fraternal reasons in their efforts to assist in evolving tranquility of conditions and stability of government in a neighboring republic and among a nearby suffering people.

Even if this present effort at Pan-American co-operation shall fail to accomplish all that may be expected of it—for at this writing the final results have not been determined—such failure would not be more of an argument against the wisdom and sincerity of the attempt than would the failure of any logical co-operation of neighbors, associates and friends to help one of their number who is in dire distress. Whether it succeeds or fails, it shows the good intentions of the governments concerned. It develops their mutual responsibility. It brings them closer together as friends and neighbors. There is excellent evidence of this fact in the "ABC Mediation" which took place a little over a year ago. That concerted effort of three Latin-American Powers was supported by the other sixteen in a resolution of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union approved May 6, 1914, to the following effect: "The Pan-American Union applauds and supports the mediation offered by the Governments of Argentina, Brazil and Chile through the medium of their distinguished representatives for the preservation of the peace of the American continent." The effort did not result in establishing peace in Mexico, but it accomplished more than any other influence in many years to bring the American nations closer together and to prove their unselfish desire to aid each other in preserving peace in the Pan-American family. The Ambassadors of Brazil, Chile and Argentina are entitled to much credit for their long, persistent, and patient endeavor to bring about directly a settlement of the differences between the United States and Mexico, and indirectly permanent peace in a suffering sister nation. History will accord them more honor than has contemporary sentiment.

In discussing practical Pan-Americanism as shown in the co-operation or mediation of the American republics in the matter of Pan-American questions, it is interesting to recall some notable precedents for such international action. A

survey of the one hundred years which have passed since most of the Latin-American republics gained their independence discloses many instances of greater or less Pan-American co-operation, but mention is made here only of comparatively recent cases. In 1895, when President Cleveland sent his famous message to Congress regarding the British-Venezuelan boundary dispute, the governments of several of the Latin-American republics sent congratulatory resolutions passed by their Congresses or expressed some official satisfaction at his action. In 1906, when President Gomez was inaugurated President of Cuba, following the intervention of the United States, practically all the Latin-American Governments, acting in harmony with the United States, sent special diplomatic representatives to be present, and this signified their sympathy with the United States in its unselfish efforts to preserve order and establish permanent peace in Cuba.

In 1907, the notable Central American Peace Conference was held in Washington, under the auspices of the Pan-American Union. This was attended by official delegates from the five Central American Governments, which, in turn, invited the United States and Mexican Governments to appoint plenipotentiaries to co-operate with them in reaching conclusions and drafting treaties that would prevent wars between Central American nations. This co-operation was effective, for since then there has been no actual warfare between any two or more of the Central American republics, although one or two have been disturbed by slight revolutions. In 1910, when Argentina and Bolivia were somewhat at odds over an arbitral award, and Argentina did not see fit to extend, or Bolivia to accept, a direct invitation to participate in the Fourth Pan-American Conference, the good offices of several Governments brought about a resumption of friendly relations. In 1911, when Colombia, Ecuador and Peru seemed on the verge of going to war over boundary questions, the United States and several Latin-American Governments united in making representations which helped to prevent an actual conflict. It may also be remembered that when, several years ago, negotiations between the United States and Chile over the so-called Alsop claim were somewhat strained, the informal and friendly suggestions of one or two of the Pan-American Governments relieved the situation and prevented a possible serious crisis.

To point out and summarize some of the principal present-day developments of practical Pan-Americanism, three main propositions and facts can be noted as follows:

I. The most potential and interesting opportunity and responsibility before the United States in the realm of foreign relations to-day lies in the twenty Latin-American republics which extend from Mexico and Cuba south to Argentina and Chile.

II. These republics, in turn, according to the statements of their statesmen and newspapers, are more desirous than at any previous period in their history to get into closer political, commercial, economic, financial and sympathetic touch with the United States.

III. With the Old World, including Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and our own nearby Canada, engaged in the most titanic war of all history, the New World, or Pan-America—comprising twenty-one nations at peace with each other and inspired by the Pan-Americanism born of common purpose and interest—is destined to become the mightiest combination and influence for universal peace and good-will among nations and men which the world has ever known.

It is now necessary and fitting, in order to understand this remarkable Pan-American situation, to consider and enumerate some of the principal influences and agencies of recent years which have helped to bring it about. Among these the following may be cited:

1. The unremitting work of education, information and propaganda in behalf of peace, friendship, commerce and general intercourse among the American republics, carried on through many years and in the face at times of serious difficulties by the Pan-American Union (formerly known as the Bureau of American Republics), the international official organization and office of the twenty-one American republics, maintained by them in Washington and controlled by a Governing Board made up, by international agreement, of the Secretary of State of the United States and of the diplomatic representatives of the twenty other republics accredited to the United States.

2. The new and special attention given in late years by the State Department of the United States to diplomatic and commercial relations with all of the republics of Latin-America; and the recent activity of the Government in promoting Pan-American trade.

3. The visits to Latin-America of high officials of the United States Government, especially of Secretaries of State, and of other representative statesmen, scholars, editors, writers, travelers and business men; and the activities and efforts of an able corps of United States diplomatic and consular representatives, military and naval attachés, in the Latin-American capitals and principal centers of commerce and social life.

4. The presence in Washington of exceptionally high-grade Ambassadors and Ministers, secretaries and attachés from all the Latin-American Governments, who, by their character, ability, tact, and public utterances have created a profoundly favorable impression, and also, as members of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, have wisely advised and inspired its executive officers in the administration of its work for peace, friendship and commerce.

5. The meeting, at varying intervals, of the great official international or Pan-American Conferences, beginning with the first, which met in Washington in 1889-90, and including the second at Mexico in 1901-2, the third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, and the fourth at Buenos Aires in 1910, which were attended by plenipotentiaries from all the republics, and at which many Pan-American questions and problems were frankly and amicably discussed.

6. The holding of numerous other official or semi-official Conferences, such as the Pan-American Scientific Conferences, the Pan-American Sanitary Conferences, the Pan-American Medical Conferences, the Pan-American Commercial Conferences, including, in particular, the one which met in the Pan-American building in 1911 under the auspices of the Pan-American Union in response to invitations of the Director General, and also its more ambitious successor, the Pan-American Financial Conference, which assembled in the latter part of May of this year in response to the invitations extended by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; these, in turn, to be followed by the International Joint Commission—growing out of the late Financial Conference—which will meet in Buenos Aires, Argentina, next November, and the second Pan-American Scientific Congress which will meet at Washington December 27, 1915-January 8, 1916.

7. The extraordinary recent progress of many of the Latin-American countries in population, commerce, political

influence, peaceful conditions, stability of government, transportation facilities, education, science, arts and literature—a degree of progress which has demanded world-wide attention and recognition; the growth of great cities and commercial entrepôts among them; their increasing attraction for travelers and explorers; the exploitation of their marvelous and limitless agricultural, mining, timber, industrial and water-power possibilities; and the rapid evolution in some of them of progressive and ambitious peoples seeking active participation in world affairs.

8. The construction and completion of the Panama Canal, which, while physically dividing North and South America, has commercially and politically brought the two continents closer together and quickened the interest of the world in the countries which can now be reached through it; the improvement of steamship and transportation facilities logically resulting from it; the betterment of sanitary and healthful conditions in tropical and subtropical sections of Latin-America which were inspired and undertaken as a result of the example set and the good accomplished at Panama.

9. The recent widespread attention, which the Pan-American Union labored during many years to awaken, now being given to Latin-America by Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, other commercial, industrial and financial organizations, civic societies and literary clubs, universities and colleges, newspapers and magazines, books and pamphlets; the almost overwhelming and constantly increasing demand on the Pan-American Union, from all parts of the world, for every variety of information relating to each American republic; the call upon the Latin-American diplomats and executive officers of the Pan-American Union for numerous addresses on Pan-American subjects; and the progressive action of some of the representative banking, manufacturing, exporting, importing, and shipping firms and companies of the United States and Latin-America in forwarding Pan-American material development.

10. The practical results actually accomplished for Pan-Americanism through the initiative of the Pan-American Union during the last eight and one-half years, as follows: (a) the establishment of courses in Spanish (and in some instances in Portuguese also) and in Latin-American history, geography and natural development, at over 2,000 uni-

versities, colleges, normal and high schools, academies and private educational institutions throughout the United States, with corresponding help in the establishment of English courses among Latin-American colleges and schools; (b) the regular acceptance by 1,500 newspapers in the United States and 300 in Latin-America of descriptive matter and news bulletins relating to the progress of the American republics; (c) the causing of over 3,000 libraries in the United States and many in Latin-America to equip their shelves with books relating to the Pan-American countries, based on lists carefully prepared by the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan-American Union; (d) the supplying of data and information which has caused over 5,000 manufacturers, exporters, importers, bankers and other business men to investigate or develop Pan-American business relations, and has resulted in an actual increase of \$400,000,000 in Pan-American trade; (e) the providing of information which has aided over 6,000 North and South Americans to visit other American countries than their own; and (f) the purchase of property and the construction of a building for a fitting headquarters of the Pan-American Union as an international organization and home of practical Pan-Americanism, at a cost of approximately \$1,100,000, towards which Mr. Andrew Carnegie generously contributed \$850,000 and the American republics \$250,000.

11. Finally, and perhaps, at the moment, most important of all, the three following influences: first, the European war, which has demonstrated practically and convincingly the interdependence and common interests of the nations and peoples of the western hemisphere; second, the Mexican revolution, which has brought the United States and its sister republics face to face with one of the greatest problems of Pan-American peace and fraternity, and has inspired the spirit and action of Pan-American mediation and co-operation; and, third, the statesmanlike, unselfish and sympathetic interest and attitude of the President of the United States in all questions and matters pertaining to the Pan-American relations of the United States, which has been appreciated throughout Latin-America and reciprocated by the Presidents of the other American republics.

Fully to grasp the significance of Pan-America and its resulting product, Pan-Americanism, it is necessary to remember what Pan-America represents in area, commerce and

population. The combined area of Pan-America, exclusive of Canada, is 12,000,000 square miles, of which the Latin-American countries occupy approximately 9,000,000 and the United States 3,000,000. This physical extent of Pan-America is better realized when it is compared with that of Europe, which has 3,750,000 square miles, with Africa, which has 11,500,000, and with Asia, which has 17,000,000.

Remembering that commerce is often described as the "life blood of nations," the Pan-American family certainly can be classed as lusty and full-blooded, for, in the last normal year before the war, 1913, Pan-America's foreign trade, including both imports and exports, was valued at the enormous total of, approximately, \$7,000,000,000, of which the share of the United States was about \$4,200,000,000 and of the Latin-American countries \$2,800,000,000.

In this connection there should be emphasized strongly a fact not generally appreciated, and not in harmony with the snap judgment and comment of many superficial students of Pan-American trade, or of those who are deluded by the impression that only during the last year have American business men awakened to the Pan-American opportunity: namely, *that in the actual exchange of products between foreign countries and Latin-America the United States leads all other countries, including Great Britain and Germany.* In other words, the actual value of the exports and imports which the United States exchanged with the twenty Latin-American countries in 1913 exceeded \$800,000,000. The total for Great Britain was \$640,000,000; for Germany \$410,000,000. These figures covering both exports and imports—for that is the only true way to measure foreign commerce—should effectively destroy the bogey so frequently stalking about, that the United States is far behind the European countries in its trade with Latin-America. While it is true that Great Britain and Germany did lead the United States in the value of products exchanged with some of the countries of South America proper, they were far behind the United States in their commerce with all Latin-America, which includes all countries from Mexico and Cuba south to the Straits of Magellan.

It is gratifying, moreover, to state that the commercial and financial interests of the United States and Latin-America have, during the past eight years, been responding more and more each year to the efforts of the Pan-American Union

to build up greater trade exchange and closer financial relations among the American republics. This is proved beyond doubt by the fact that in the period during which the writer has served as the executive officer of the Pan-American Union, or since 1906, the value of the exports and imports exchanged between the United States and the twenty Latin-American countries has grown from less than \$500,000,000 to more than \$800,000,000.

Pan-America's real greatness, significance, and power in world relationship are also emphasized by appreciation of its present population and the future possibilities for a vast increase. Its twenty-one nations can now boast of a population of 180,000,000, of which 100,000,000 are living in United States territory and 80,000,000 in Latin-America.

There are several unfortunate impressions concerning Pan-American relations, among those uninformed as to the real Latin-America, which should be corrected in order that true Pan-Americanism shall not be unfairly hampered in its logical development. One is the too prevalent opinion about revolutions and armed political disturbances. Despite the troubled conditions in Mexico and Haiti which to-day tend to distort the vision, two-thirds of the population and area of all Latin-America have known no serious revolution in thirty years, while it has had so few international wars in a hundred years that it can shame Europe's record for the past century. There is also the suggestion that all Latin-America is opposed to the Monroe Doctrine. But what is interpreted as opposition to the Monroe Doctrine is not a feeling against the original Doctrine and the conditions under which it was declared, but against a kind of casual interpretation of it in the United States which carries the obnoxious intimation that the United States has a "holier than thou," a supreme, position among the nations of the western hemisphere. Latin-America, as a matter of fact, believes in a just and unselfish interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine—an interpretation which would make it a Pan-American principle or policy, by which all the countries of North and South America would stand for the sovereignty and integrity of each.

In this discussion of Pan-America and Pan-Americanism, Canada has not been included because she is a part of the British Empire, and yet in many respects she is as closely associated with the purposes of Pan-Americanism

and as dependent upon Pan-American commerce and relationship as some of the countries forming the Pan-American Union. Some day, and possibly one not too far distant, it is probable that Canada will desire to become an active member of the Pan-American Union, or, at least, an honorary or corresponding member, so to speak, if that can be arranged by international agreement. When that time comes, Pan-America, in its broadest possibilities, will include twenty-two Governments instead of twenty-one as now, and there can be little doubt that Canada herself will become as staunch an advocate and friend of practical Pan-Americanism as any of the ABC or other Latin-American Powers which have participated in Pan-American mediation, or have joined in Pan-American co-operation and the growing work and responsibilities of the Pan-American Union.

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION is the international organization and office maintained in Washington, D. C., by the twenty-one American republics, as follows: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. It is devoted to the development and advancement of commerce, friendly intercourse, and good understanding among these countries. It is supported by quotas contributed by each country, based upon the population. Its affairs are administered by a Director General and Assistant Director, elected by and responsible to a Governing Board, which is composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the other American governments. These two executive officers are assisted by a staff of international experts, statisticians, commercial specialists, editors, translators, compilers, librarians, clerks and stenographers. The Union publishes a Monthly Bulletin in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, which is a careful record of Pan American progress. It also publishes numerous special reports and pamphlets on various subjects of practical information. Its library, the Columbus Memorial Library, contains 30,000 volumes, 15,000 photographs, 100,000 index cards, and a large collection of maps. The Union is housed in a beautiful building erected through the munificence of Andrew Carnegie.